/1279 cont./

TR [illegible]

"To call a person Cushpij was a great insult" /cited in English/. In (e):332 and (h):237 it is said: "'Cashpik' is a name which they also gave people who were ridiculous or who had a bad character, and this was a great insult." Likewise Hyades (q):255.

Therefore, kɛ́ɛpix́ is a general concept, not the proper name of a definite individual person (239).

239. Despard (h):717 made this mistake: "Fuelandens have a dread of a being called 'Cashpeer,' and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries..." /cited in English/. In this connection see the detailed description of this generic term above, p. 1158.

TR 177

If the Yamana extend the meaning of the word kɛ́ɛpix́ he includes those strange spirit beings which arise from his imagination and fantasy, his belief and his dreams, and which do not truly live, as do Watauinéwa and the human souls separated from the body. Each of the various groups forms its own peculiar society. In this connection the Yamana also extends the designation kɛ́ɛpix́ to include a rare individual case which deviates from the human norm. [illegible] refers to this with the word fiikɛ́ɛpigɔ̃na, "to say a person is cushpik [kɛ́ɛpix́] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a cushpik, i.e., of speaking or acting without any regard to truth or propriety" /cited in English/. Actual consciousness, presence of mind, personal alertness are also called kɛ́ɛpix́, that is, the definite kɛ́ɛpix́ which lives in the human being, and there is then no sharp distinction between this condition and the human soul. An unusual notion or impulse or even coincidence also belongs in this category. Earlier, on page [illegible], I related an unimportant incident. The daughter of old Pedro Halletcheua, who was about seven years old, following a

/1279 cont./

776 778 whim, went walking along the shore with some other girls from Puerto Mejillones and traveled far from the parental hut. Darkness overtook them at Puerto Piedra and they stayed there. Full of anxiety, the parents set out to look for the children, found them, and brought them back to camp early in the morning. No one scolded the children; not even their own parents reproached them. That same night the wife of old Thomas, who had been ill for a long time, died. Everyone explained the behavior of the children by saying: "The kéŋpix of that woman prompted the children to go so far away before nightfall. They are not to be blamed." That is why no one thought of /1280/ punishing the children. As has been described, the adults who take part in the singing in the čiéxaus hut (p.796) regard it as natural to consider heightened emotion and inner agitation as expressions of the kéŋpix, in short, as kéŋpix.

[356] This fact is important in understanding the influence of the yékamuš. Even the power by means of which a yékamuš operates, either on the spot or at a great distance, is called his kéŋpix.

Finally, the action of the wild forces of nature is sometimes pointed out as the expression of malevolent kéŋpix. This has given rise to expressions such as are used, for example, by Krickeberg:322: "The Fuegian animates the majestic natural surroundings of his homeland with demons." In this connection Fitz-Roy's (a):179 partially correct conjecture is also pertinent: "The fact of their believing that the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc., is one reason why I am inclined to think that they have no thought of a future retribution" /cited in English/ (240).

240. This alone is enough to refute what Darwin (f):I, 123 reported: "With justifiable pride Jemmy Button stoutly maintained that in his country there is no devil." Koskoff:51 is more accurate in his judgment: "Ideas of the sun as a mighty creature endowed with will power, upon which man feels dependent, are

/1280 cont./

implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun is hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'

Thus the conception of kéipix is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of kéipix must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the aséan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called Inaxumála, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These aséan have long canoes

241. Bridges (VSA:XI, 259:1894) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they